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582 [595] (Exceptions to this occur in the case of men who have several wives, their later acquisitions being sometimes much younger than the husbands.) It will be remembered that parallel cousins are classed with siblings, with whom marriage is forbidden, and that cross-cousins (*pi'án*) are taboo relatives, marriage between whom, though falling short of incest, is viewed with decided disapproval, and this although the individuals belong to different clans. These restrictions, taken together, rule out marriages between all the people who appear in the tables of relationship terms. It follows that a man's wife must be chosen from outside his relations on both sides of the house. As a matter of fact, the more distant extensions of the terms are not always kept in mind, especially if the people concerned live in a far-off village, so that if all the genealogies were followed back for another generation or two, intermarriages would doubtless be brought to light. But these would be incidental, and would not invalidate the system as here described, since the relationships are not considered by the individuals concerned in arranging the marriage. Intermarriages between relatives do occasionally occur, but the amount of care taken to impress upon me that they were irregular, in such examples as I came across, shows that they are never taken as a matter of course. Some of these have already been mentioned. Another, possessing unusual features, is perhaps worth detailing at some length.

582 588 [836] A girl named Pariban fell in love with a young man named Paribuin, and persuaded him to have intercourse with her in the bush. The two were caught, and there was great consternation on the part of their elders, because they stood to each other in the relationship of *wevnē-* owing to the fact that their maternal grandmothers were sisters. Finally they were permitted to marry in [839] spite of this. But the rest of the lineage group were very angry, and in revenge Sarumpots, the grandson of another sister, seized Gomar, the (actual) sister of Paribuin (to whom he stood in exactly the same relation as Paribuin did to Pariban), while she was working in the taro garden, and forced her to have intercourse with him. When it was settled that Parabuin was to be allowed to marry Pariban, Sarumpots married Gomar, but great stress was laid by my informants on the fact that this marriage would not have been possible had it not been for the other. Once these marriages had taken place the matter was considered regularized, and on Parabuin's death without children Pariban duly became the wife of

[1] [i.e., Marriages generally being with mates of the same generation. — Analyst]

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it is not the woman that is bought, but the right to use her body for the satisfaction of the husband and the procreation of children by him. With this the man also acquires the right to be looked after and provided with food properly prepared, and failure on the part of the wife in these respects is regarded as ground for divorce. It is a wife, as distinct from a woman in her capacity as an individual, that is purchased when the strings of ceremonial currency pass from the bridegroom's family to that of the bride. She is not thereby prevented from being a person with rights of her own in the community, for her position in this society is far from being a negligible one, as will be seen from other portions of this book. My impression is that while they definitely regard the handing over of the ceremonial currency as a commercial transaction, it is not in any way detrimental to the dignity of the woman, nor does this point of view react unfavourably on her status in the community.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES PRIOR TO MARRIAGE

It will be noted that there is no feature in the series of betrothal ceremonies, nor in the final ceremony preceding the consummation of the marriage, involving a test of the girl's virginity. The question was never brought up spontaneously by the natives in our conversations regarding various aspects of sex and marriage, and the lack of response to such guarded inquiries as I made—direct questions being liable to produce misleading results—would seem to indicate that the matter is not considered of primary importance. It is noteworthy, too, that out of several hundred folk-tales and legends in my collection not a single one has any bearing on this point, though practically every other aspect of the sexual life is illustrated therein. Two cases of rape occur in my records, but both were attended by special circumstances. One, complicated by incest, has already been discussed (p. 77). The other (referred to on p. 230) concerned a girl who had attained adult years without being married owing to a deformity. Perhaps the fact that in the past it was only exceptionally that a girl was not claimed by a husband at or before sexual maturity accounts for the absence of stress on the subject. Nowadays, in the more sophisticated villages, where the age of marriage is getting appreciably later, and some freedom of choice as to whether a girl marries or not is just possible, a new situation is arising. In the few such cases known

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you must not go near her. She will be unhappy because of you, and will not be able to eat. Next day she will climb a tree and call out to all the men to find you and fight you, because you have scorned her. She will say: 'Why does he run away from me, I want him.' Then she will want you so much that she will go to your hut. (This is a grave breach of etiquette.) Her brother will be very angry, and will come to you and ask why you have done this to his sister. Then you will tell him it is because he seduced your sister.

This magic must be taught to no one except the possessor's sister's son.

I could never learn of any medicine to be used by a woman for taking revenge on a man who had abandoned her. It was noteworthy that, although some of the magic connected with love-making was known to and used by women, the great majority of my informants on this subject were men, the women seeming neither to know nor to care so much about this means of attracting a partner as the men did. Perhaps they feel more sure of the efficacy of their own personal charms. However that may be, it is certain that lovers are not lacking to any woman who wants them.

A woman desiring sexual intercourse with a man who does not make advances to her will, when opportunity arises, lie down in his presence with her legs apart, a position otherwise regarded as indecent. The word *payan* means to adopt it deliberately for this purpose. If a women exposes her genitals, even unwittingly, as in sleep, the situation is liable to be taken advantage of by any man whose passions may thereby be aroused. Both types of incident figure frequently in my collection of tales, as well as in village gossip. The proper behaviour for a woman is to sit or lie with her legs stretched out in front of her, keeping them close together. This is still the rule, although every adult now wears a loin-cloth. A young man once brought his little son, aged about three, to play on my verandah. The child sat down with his legs straight out, and another man immediately began to laugh. When I asked what the joke was, he said that the baby was sitting down like a girl.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

The people say there was a time when they had no knowledge of the sexual act, but men copulated with women at their armpits, and it was thought that the female genitalia were intended to provide them with lime in which to dip their areca-nut. The proper way to do it was taught first to the people of Tsiraun (Nissan), by

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833 a man named in different versions Uskawu and Manatchire, who
773 came from a long distance on a raft. One version of the story continues as follows:

833 The people of Tsiraun took him and made him sit down on the front
773 verandah of their chief's house. They gave him betel-pepper, and
539 skinned an areca-nut for him. Then they brought a woman, and made her lie down, and told her to open her legs, so that he could dip his areca-nut into her lime-pot. But Uskawu said to them: 'You give her to me presently, by and by I will chew betel at night.' He was ashamed because of the woman's genitals. Then Uskawu took some real lime, and chewed, and spat out, and the men of Tsiraun thought he was throwing up blood.

Night came, and Uskawu copulated with the woman. The men of Tsiraun cried out: 'Oh look, the man has broken our carved lime-pot.' Then the woman became pregnant, and the child grew large inside her. The woman felt it, and cried. The men of Tsiraun wanted to get a knife and cut her belly. But Uskawu held her fast, and said: 'Leave her alone, I will look after her.' The woman felt the child. Then Uskawu took a piece of wood, a short thick piece, and the woman sat down on it. Then he held the woman, and she gave birth to the child.

The child cried, and all the people said: 'What are we to do now?' Uskawu said: 'You leave us alone. The child is mine. By and by his mother will give him milk.' They asked him about the child's food. He went to get some food and prepared it for the woman to make her strong. She ate some and gave some to the child.

That is how men learned to copulate at the pudenda, before this they only did it at the armpit.

833 The story of the man who thought his wife's genitalia to be
773 a sore, and had to be taught how to copulate, which is the origin-myth current in New Ireland (Powdermaker, p. 242), is known in North Bougainville, but is told of an individual.

833 Coitus usually takes place in one of two positions. In the hut, the woman lies on the plank bed on her back, with the man over her. The women say that men sometimes lie so heavily on them
[845] that they cry out. If she is known to be pregnant, he tries to keep his weight off her; failure to do so is supposed to result in the birth
[362] of twins (see p. 164). It is difficult for a couple to secure privacy for their embraces, because there are nearly always several other people occupying the hut, which is not provided with partitions.
[839] They will wait till everybody else is asleep, but it is a favourite trick to pretend to be asleep and watch them. Or they will go to

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HOMOSEXUALITY

838 [538] Homosexual practices figure in some of the stories, in each case on the part of males. From discussions arising out of these it would appear that homosexuality is actually found among these people, but is rare, and is regarded with intense disfavour. At the end of one such story, told by a young woman, the names of two men, one dead, one living in another village, were mentioned, and also that of the father of a Kurtatchi boy who had been forced to yield to the former, when he was an old man too feeble to resist. The natives said that such people were *pipiu*, a word which from [732] its use in other connexions appears to mean 'mad', though it was also applied to a boy who was deaf and dumb. In one story homo- [762] sexual behaviour started after recovery from an illness, and the man finally committed suicide by jumping from a cliff. It was related as a fact, with the statement that it happened not long ago.

It is known that homosexual practices occur on the plantations, where indentured men may spend three years in 'quarters' without women. Some of the older people told me they did not like their young men to sign on for this reason. It would seem probable that the segregation of the boys wearing the *upi* might have similar consequences, especially considering the very intimate contact in which they live with the older men acting as their *amro* (see pp. 198–9) during their period of seclusion in the bush. But my informants [839] asserted emphatically that this was not the case, although masturbation was freely admitted. It is at least safe to say that homosexual [881] practices do not form part of the puberty ritual, nor do they enter, so far as I could ascertain, into any other ceremonial observances among these people.

The conventional attitude towards homosexuality in this community is definitely one of condemnation. I do not know how far the assertion that manifestations of it occur but rarely may have been due to this, but the impression I received from the reactions of the natives during discussions on the subject was that the disapproval was more than the expression of the orthodox point of view.

585 [881] Imitations of the sexual act are carried out between women at a certain stage in the marriage ceremonies (see p. 91) and in those marking the first menstruation of a girl who is *tsunaun*. These are

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purely ritual acts, and in no respect to be connected with female homosexuality, for which I have no evidence.

CONNEXION WITH ANIMALS

Again arising out of the telling of stories, it appears that intercourse with animals, usually dogs, is known, on the part of both sexes. The talk which followed the story elicited the fact that it does actually occur, but I can form no idea of its frequency. When it formed the subject of a story it was regarded as a joke by the teller—in one case the tale was especially described as a good one—and was received with much laughter by the audience, but there were signs of shame and disgust when we discussed its actual occurrence. This happened in two villages; the reactions of the natives were the same in both.

CONNEXION WITH PLANTS

The legend of origin, according to which the people are said to have sprung from an old woman who was impregnated by means of a banana, has been given in Chapter II. Other instances in which pregnancy is supposed to occur in this manner are given in Chapter III. There are several stories in my collection in which plants, sometimes those possessing aromatic properties, figure in the same role. I give one of these, which is typical of its kind, in case students of sex psychology may see in it some significance.

A woman went to the taro garden, she saw a bush banana, the kind whose stalk is black. She liked it so much that she cut it, and took it to her house, and slept with it. (The phrase here used implies sexual intercourse; it is not clear from my manuscript whether the whole plant or only the fruit is intended.) Then she looked at it, and the skin had come off part of it. Then she thought her man was dead, and she cried over it, and took it up and got red paint and put on it, and got some beads and dressed it up (as is done to the dead). Then she took it and put it in the sea, but it would not sink. So she took it back, and buried it in the bush. Then she set fire to the house where the banana had died (as used to be done to the hut in which a person had died). Then she went and slept in another house.

Another day she went to the bush, and saw a young bush-banana plant coming up, and she said: 'Yes, I think you are the brother of the man I married before, aren't you?' Then she said: 'You stay there just now, by and by you will be big.' Then she went and said to her father: 'Come on, make me another house.' Her father said: 'Why should I

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839 539 hurry up and make a new house? Who is it you want to sleep with?' She said: 'What are you talking about? I haven't got a husband.' 'I think some man is having intercourse with you in the bush.' 'No, that is not so.' Then she went to look at the banana to see whether it had grown big yet, and she said: 'Why have you not grown big?' Then she went back to the village, and stayed there for awhile.

Another day she went to the bush again, and a little girl went behind her, and heard her talking to the bush banana. The little girl thought she was talking to a man. Then she saw it was only a banana. So she went back to the village, and told the father of the woman: 'Your daughter is having an affair with a banana, that's all.' Then her father broke up the house, and cut the thatch of the roof into pieces, and broke up the walls. He was angry with his daughter because she was in love with a banana.

839 I once saw a woman take the flower of a banana palm and hold it to her breast, pretending to give it suck. She said: 'This is my child.' She had been divorced, had not remarried, and was childless.

CLOTHING AND SHAME

291 Before the advent of the whites, men wore no clothing of any kind, not even a pubic leaf. Women wore a waist string of thin fibre, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front, scarcely covering their genitals, and providing but scanty concealment except from a direct frontal view. These conditions still obtain in the mountain districts of central Bougainville.

291 177 At the present time, the Government expects all the natives under control to wear a loin-cloth. This is further stressed by the missionaries, who require that even the smallest infants shall be thus attired if brought to religious services. Otherwise, little children of both sexes generally go naked, though it is becoming increasingly common to dress them in loin-cloths also. The garment, known by the pidgin-English term *laplap*, consists of a length of cloth passed once round the waist, with the ends folded over and tucked in. Great care is taken to adjust it correctly and to keep it in position. It usually falls to the knees, but may be longer or shorter. The older men and women often discard their loin-cloths when working hard or when they are ill. The women, however, are seldom seen entirely naked, but retain a bit of rag depending in front, or the old-time bunch of leaves. The younger people are never without their laplaps, even bathing in the sea thus clad. The garment is retained at night.